

A
L E T T E R

WRIT BY

The Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*,

TO THE

Lord Bishop of *Cor.* and *Litchfield*,

CONCERNING

A Book lately Published, called, *A Specimen
of some Errors and Defects in the History of
the Reformation of the Church of England,*
by Anthony Harmer.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Ric. Chiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown*
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. MDCXCIII.

LETTER

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE

ASSOCIATION

OF THE

PROFESSORS

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A
LETTER

Writ by the
L^d. BISHOP of SALISBURY,
To the
L^d. Bishop of *Corv.* and *Litchfield*,
Concerning

A Book lately Published, called, *A Specimen
of some Errors and Defects, &c.*

MY LORD,



Book lately published, under the
Title of a *Specimen of the Errors and
Defects in my History of the Reforma-
tion*, calls upon me to say somewhat
in Justification of that Work:
Which I intend to do in the same
Method in which I compos'd that
History; and address it first of all to you, and then to

The Bishop of Sarum's Letter

the Publick, after it has past under your Censure ; in which I know you will use the same friendly and plain Freedom that you did in perusing the other ; and let nothing pass, to which you find any just, or even plausible exception. And indeed, If there are such Errors in that Work, as this *Specimen* pretends to discover, and puts the world in expectation of more, this being offered but as a sampler, that does not amount to above a Third part of what may come afterwards ; your Lordship must submit to bear some part of the blame.

You know well, that you were the Person that prest me most to undertake that work ; and to encourage me to it, you promised me two very valuable things ; the one was, The Copying-out of all your *Collections* relating to that time : The Value of this can only be judged by those who have seen with what an amazing Diligence, and to how vast an Extent, and in how exact a Method, all those many Volumes, I had almost said, that Library of Collections, is digested. No part of this pleased me more, than that Criticalness which is so peculiar to your self, in marking all Dates so punctually ; this being one of the most necessary, but withal one of the most unacceptable (to me at least) of all the Labours of a Historian. All this, as far as concerned my *Delight*, I had the free use of, and I found my Work much shortned by it. Your other Promise was no less exactly performed by you, of revising my first Draughts with that Cenforious Severity that became your Zeal for Truth,

Truth, and for that *Great Work*, and also that most obliging Friendship with which you had honoured myself. And you did acquit your self in all Points as became an Honest Man, and a Faithful Friend. You spared me in nothing ; you made both Rasures, Additions, and Alterations, with so much Reason, and so true a Judgment, that I all along felt what I can never enough acknowledge, how happy I my self was, and how great Advantages that work received from the share that you were pleased to take in it. So that I hope you will suffer me to say, that you ought to take some share likewise in the Fault that is found with the History, and the Reproaches that are cast both on it and on my self. Your Friends have hitherto often blamed you, for being so minutely Critical in all you do, which as they do rightly judge, has deprived the world of a great deal that might have been otherwise expected from you ; and no man has taken the liberty to complain more of this than my self, who have seen the almost incredible Compass and Fulness of your Collections, which indeed seems to be beyond what the longest life of any one man could lay together ; and has made me often say, That if you could be but at half the pains to bring out your Learning, that you have been at to lay it up, never man should merit so much of the Learned World, as you might do. This I confess made me the more secure in Publishing my *Work*, when it was so strictly sifted by you ; for I do still preserve the Copy that was so carefully perused by you. The greatest part of it was examined by you when you were in the Countrey, out of the Town, and out of that vast
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Application in which you laid your self so intirely out upon the greatest Parochial Cure of *England*, that it took up the whole Day constantly; and tho you gave the best part of the Night to your Study, yet I could not have expected, that a *Work*, in which every thing was to have been weighed, could have had such a share in those hours as it required: But you reserved it for your Retreats into the Countrey, and there you answered, and even exceeded my Expectation.

You saw there was need of more than ordinary care, since we could not but expect, that every thing of a work of this nature would be enquired into. I confess we expected it from other hands. We thought they of that Church which was most concerned to blemish the Honour of the *Reformation*, would have taken some pains to have discredited its *History*, especially when they saw it had the Reception which this Author confesses the World gave it; he is pleased to add, *justly*; but it seems this was meant only to gild the Pill, for he has been at a great deal of pains to lessen the Credit of it; with what Success, let the world judge. I do not believe that he did this to ingratiate himself with them whom he chiefly gratifies in this: But I do acknowledge, I looked for nothing of this strain, from one of our own *Communion*.

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It was no small addition to the Credit of the Work, that in the late Reign, in which the Book and the Author both were in such Publick Disgrace, yet nothing was then Published to lessen its Esteem, and that it was appealed to by our best Writers, as often as Matters of Fact were under Debate. But

Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini.

I may be pardoned to quote from *Pasquin*, since he that deals thus with me vouches *Athena Oxoniensis*. I do not trouble my self to find out the Author. I am assured that the Neme in the Title page of *Anthony Harmer* is a feigned one; nor, as I hear, does the Stationer for whom it is printed, know any thing concerning him.

But this is a matter of no Consequence. I am only concerned to consider what is said, and not who says it. And what Reason soever I may have to lay my conjectures on the true Author, yet that is not to enter into the present discourse: only I must crave leave to say, That a Man who pretends to have many Papers in his Hands, and to affirm a great many things upon his *Single Word*, without saying upon what authority he grounds most of his Corrections, ought to have named himself *True*, and to have told how he came by his Informations: that if we must take his word for every thing that he says, without searching into the truth of it, yet at least we might have been able to quote our Author, in those things for which he is pleased to give us no other Author but himself.

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He treats me always with so much slighting and contempt, that if things of that kind could provoke me much, I should be obliged to watch over both my Thoughts and Pen for fear they should run too quick. He owns those low Thoughts of me, that do indeed very well become me to entertain of my self, but look not so decent in another, whom to my knowledge I never injured; and whom, if I guess right, I have endeavoured to serve. But it is of no great consequence how meanly soever, he or any others may think of my Judgment or Learning, so long as that work is like, for ought I see or can learn, to remain still as entire in its reputation as ever, after such a keen attempt as he has made upon it.

The Scorn he lays upon me, and the injuries he does me, in charging me with *falsehood* so often, give me very little disturbance: And the prejudices that arise from such a way of Writing, are likelier to turn upon himself, than to do me much hurt. Those things do very ill become Scholars and Christians, but worst of all Men of our Profession, who ought never to be *overcome of Evil, but to overcome Evil with Good*. And therefore tho' the *station* I am in, did not reach him the regards that he owed it, how little soever I may deserve them, yet it obliges me to write in a *Stile* that becomes it, rather than in that which he has deserved from me. Only in one particular I desire not to be mistaken, as if the softness with which I treat him, was intended to Manage and Cajole him, and so to prevent his going on with those farther Discoveries with which he threatens me: For
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he says this was *but a Months work at a distance from* Pag 161.
his other helps, and that he has only Noted what his
Memory and present Collections suggested to him: Tho'
 by the way, ones *Memory* is no very good Voucher, in
 things of this kind: I published that Work on de-
 sign to undeceive the World, and to give true rela-
 tions of things; therefore I am very well pleased to be
 informed my self, and to have the World told, tho'
 at my cost, if I have been mistaken in any thing.
 Truth is great and must prevail: Therefore I do so
 earnestly desire to see all that he can say of this kind,
 that if he brings out no more, I shall be much dis-
 appointed of my hope, and shall complain more of
 that, than of all the ill usage he has given me.

As to the charge of *Falsbood* that comes over so
 often, that it is plain by his frequent repeating of it, that
 he intended it should stick. I can and do affirm it,
 that to my knowledge, I did not willingly mistake,
 or misrepresent, nor so much as suppress any one
 particular relating to that great Transaction: If I
 were called on to say this, with the highest solemn-
 ities of Religion, upon *Oath*, or at the *Sacrament*;
 I am sure I can do it with a good Conscience. I have
 also sent for Mr. *Angus* of *St. Dunstons*, who was
 then my *Amanuensis*, not having leisure or other op-
 portunities at present to enter into the retail of smal-
 ler Matters; and have asked him if he can imagine, how
 there should be so many mistakes about Dates in the
 transcribing of the Records; for this Author scarce
 allows one of them to be true. And therefore he thinks
little Credit is due to the History, and that the Re- P. 17. 26.
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cords will be of little value if once there appears just reason to suspect the Care, or the Fidelity of the Transcriber. And assures he the Reader, That of those Dates which he has examined, he has found near as many to be false as true.

Mr. *Angus* was amazed at this, and said he was ready to take his Oath upon it, that tho' he himself used his utmost diligence, to examine every Paper that he copied out; yet I was never satisfied with that, but examined all over again my self: So that I may sincerely say, what I once writ on a very solemn occasion, at the making of my Will when I went out of *England*, that I writ that Work, with the same fidelity that I should have given an Evidence upon Oath in a Court of Judicature.

All this I think necessary to be said upon this occasion; for I do hereafter expect to see this *Specimen* often brought out by those of the *Roman* Communion to overthrow the credit of that History, which no doubt they will urge with a sort of Triumph, since one who seems zealous for our Church, does charge it with so much *falsehood*. For all this, I do not suspect this Writer of any leaning to *Poper*y, his zeal for justifying the Marriage of the Clergy, upon which subject he seems to have taken some pains, is enough to cover him from all such suspicions. But yet he seems so *sharpned* against me, that rather than not vent his spleen, he would furnish them with a Weapon that they will not fail to make use of on many occasions. He seems indeed to have
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some zeal for one of the worst Bodies of the Roman Communion, the Monks of the later Ages: and is concerned for the Reputation both of their Morals and of their Learning; tho' for their Morals, where he censures me most severely for charging them with Incontinence, he is pleased in the very next Leaf to brand them with such Crimes as are not to be named among Christians. For their Learning, tho' he is pleased to enter the Lists against me, yet I have reason to believe that he is no admirer of it. His studies have been much that way, and it is natural for Men to value that much on which they have bestowed much of their time: and perhaps he has been Infected by the Rudeness and Maledicence that runs through their Writings, to imitate so bad a Patern.

He prevents one Objection to which he saw how open he was, that he was sensible somewhat was to be said to it. I had invited all that could give me a further light into those Matters, to communicate their Remarks or Discoveries to me, and promised both to Retract my Mistakes, and acknowledge from whose hands I had received better Information. But in answer to this, he sends me to a passage in the Second Part of the *Athenæ Oxoniensæ*. I confess I did not expect to see a Writer of his Rank, descend so low as to cite such a Scribler, especially upon such an occasion. That poor Writer has thrown together such a tumultuary mixture of Stuff and Tatle, and has been so visibly a Tool of some of the Church of Rome, to Reproach all the greatest Men
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of our Church, that no Man who takes care of his own Reputation, will take any thing upon trust that is said by one that has no Reputation to lose: He who has laid together all that the malice of Missionaries could furnish him with, to blemish the *Work* of one of the greatest Men of our Church, who was the lasting Honour of that See which I do now so unworthily possess, I mean Bishop *Jewell*, does but follow his stroke when he Calumniates my History: and he who has so barbarously attackt the Memory of my immediate Predecessor Bishop *Ward*, who was in so many respects one of the greatest Men of his Age, but that had appeared with too much zeal against *Popery*, to be spared by one of their Faction: he, I say, does but like himself, when he endeavours to blacken me with his Calumnies. But what is it that this angry Correcter is pleased to take upon the word of such an Author?

He says Mr. *Fulman* complained much that I had not dealt faithfully with him in Publishing his *Correction of my first Volume*. I have not that despicable Book now by me, so I cannot quote the words, but this is the sense of them: and upon this the Author of the *Specimen* depends so intirely, that he thinks he is by it excused from using me in that friendly way that I had proposed, or in that Charitable method which the Gospel directs. It happens that I have in this Instance a great variety of proofs to shew the falshood of this Calumny. You know, My Lord, in particular, that it was Bishop *Fell* of pious and blessed Memory, that engaged Mr. *Fulman* to send up

up his Corrections to me. You your self, and indeed every body else, thought they were not of that moment, that they deserved so public a notice as I took of them: I confess I was of that mind my self, but I thought it was fit for me upon that occasion, to behave my self so as to encourage all others to set me right, if they found I was mistaken in any particular; and that I might make as much advantage from Mr. *Fulman* as was possible, I bore with an odd strain of sourness that run through all his Letters. Bishop *Fell* had prepared me for that; and I took every thing well at his hands. I in conclusion drew a short Abstract of all his Corrections, and sent it down to him to have his approbation of it, before it should be Printed: for it would have been too tedious to have published them so largely as he had sent them to me. I staid long for his Answer, till the Carrier that brought his Letters to me, had come up a second time, from those parts where he lived. It happened to be in the Month of *February*, before the Sitting of the *Oxford* Parliament: and Mr. *Chiswell* thought it might be of some Consequence in the Sale of the Work, to have it ready to appear at that time: so he pressed a dispatch: for all stuck at the return which I expected from Mr. *Fulman*. But the second Carrier bringing me no Answer, I took it for granted, that he was satisfied with the Abstract that I had sent him; so I put it in the Press. But before it was Printed off, the third Carrier came, and brought me his Answer. He was satisfied with the main of what I had prepared, only he desired that some Alteration might be made in four or five Articles: and so
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careful was I to gratifie him in every thing, that tho' these things were of no Consequence, yet I would needs have all to be reprinted: his Corrections happened to be all in one Leaf; so that Leaf was only reprinted, and pasted to the other half of the Sheet: and this will be found in the greatest part of the Copies of the First Edition of my Work, not in them *all*, for I stopt the Press which was working, and reprinted a Leaf for all that were wrought off; and the rest were Printed with those Amendations. So that both from Mr. *Fulman's* own Letters, which I still do keep, and from this real Evidence, it appears how unjustly this is laid upon me; and how weak an excuse this will prove for the method in which this *Author* has thought fit to deal with me. Since I had in that very Instance which he gives, used that Person with a Candour, that gave me a right to expect fair dealing from all others.

Yet after all this and a great deal more that I might well urge, if I intended to aggravate matters, I must say that I have not seen any one thing, relating to my History, that has pleased me so much as this *Specimen* does. It is plain that here is a Writer who has considered those times and that matter with much application: And that he is a Master of this Subject; he has the Art of writing skilfully, and how much soever he may be wanting in a Christian Temper, and in the decency that one who owns himself of our *Communion*, owed to the Station I hold in it; yet in other respects he seems to be a very valuable Man, so valuable, that I cannot without

out a very sensible regret, see such Parts, and such Industry, like to be soured and spoiled with so ill a Temper: All the Heresies and Schisms in the Church have been either started or carried on by Men who have been *puffed up* with their *Knowledge*, and have not tempered it with that *Charity which edifieth*. As he is a Man capable of making the severest Observations that the subject will bear: so he shows that he is so much set on it, and so inclined to disparage both *me* and *my work*, that nobody who reads his *Specimen*, will believe that he is tender of me, or that he has spared me in any one thing. So many Remarks that are so very trifling, force a Reader to believe, that he had a mind to make a great Muster, and that it was merely want of Matter that led him to make so much of things, on which nobody, as far as I can hear, besides himself, sets any value. I confess I my self value his Book much more than I find any of the more judicious Readers tell me they do. I value it so much, that I do earnestly desire that all those who have my Book, will likewise procure this, as the best Apology that I know can be made for it. Since in all this Collection, there is not any one material fault, relating to any of the Transactions of the Reformation; and among those that he pretends to find, there is not any one in which, even he himself, who is liberal in accusing me of *Falshood*, yet can charge me with any *Fraud* or ill *Design*: So that how much soever

the reputation of my own *Learning* or *Exactness* may be lessened by this *Specimen*, there is nothing brought to overthrow the Truth of the History, in any important Matter : and if in things of no moment there was not all that exactness used that was possible, the fault is the more pardonable. And after all, so the Credit of that *Work* stands unshaken, let the Credit of the Historian take its venture, and stand or fall as men may be disposed to be kind to him, or severe upon him.

But after all that has been said in general, it is time now, that I should come to speak more particularly to the things contained in his Book : I once intended to have examined every one of all his Remarks ; but your Lordship, as well as the rest of my *Reverend Brethren* with whom I spoke upon this Subject, were of opinion that his Reflections on my History, were not such as could deserve, that either I my self should spend that time upon them which they will require, and that may be certainly much better improved ; or that I should publish any thing of that kind, the reading of which must needs be both flat and tedious : Since in that great variety which he has affected to bring together, there is not any one Instance that seems to be of any Consequence. Thirteen Years are now past since I finished that Work, so that now many of the things that I writ are quite out of my Head : Yet I have taken care to preserve all the Notes I then made, so
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carefully, that without seeking for it elsewhere, I am confident, I could say enough in my own Defence, if I should again open my Papers. But the things excepted to here are such trifles, that I had much rather that the world should believe all that he says is true, than engage into so fruitless a Controversie. Therefore in Compliance with your Advice, and which my own Inclinations too, I shall decline this ingrateful Work, and shall only offer somewhat on the several Heads on which he exercises his Censure. Which may be reduced to these four.

The First are the Recapitulations that I make of the State in which things were before the Reformation; in which he triumphs often over me, as *Ignorant of the Antient English History*: P. 2, 10, 11, 27. and not having so much as a competent knowledge of it, nor being conversant enough among the writings of the Monks and other Authors that lived in the dark Ages, which preceded the *Light*. Indeed I am not at all out of Countenance to own that I have not much studied those Authors: The little that I have studied, did not encourage me to go further, than to carry in my mind a true view of the state of the Church in those times, from which I might be able to judge of the Necessity of a Reformation. The barbarous Stile, the mixture of so much Fable, the great want of Judgement, and the gross partiality that runs thro the Writings of the *Monks*, has so disgusted me

at their Works, that I confess I could never bring my self to read them with Pleasure. If any one that has more Patience than I, can think it worth the while to search into that Rubbish, let him write Volumes of *Anglia Sacra*, and have the Glory of it for his Pains: And even these two Pompous Volumes have not at all changed my Taste. To dig in Mines were not to me a more ingrateful employment. I am contented to take these things from second hand, and am no more out of Countenance to own this, than to own that I have no *Arabick*, or that I have not read the *Talmud*: A study after all that I should vastly prefer to the other, if my Genius and Leisure should favour it. After all this, he that *Recapitulates*, as I do in the places for which I am censured, gives only general views of things, to furnish ordinary Readers with some general Notions; so that no man expects an accuracy in this. Nor does the Historian here, deliver any thing upon the credit of special Vouchers, but only draws from other Books a short state of past times, to give an Introduction to what he himself is to open: He neither pretends to be exact nor particular: and so the view he gives is upon the main true; this is never to be further canvassed. This Author has very probably examined the *Monastick Writers*, and especially in the point of the *Celibacy of the Clergy*, more minutely than I have done: and so he is very full of disdain, and comes

comes over with it very often, that *I am ignorant of the Ancient English History*: I own it, as to that part in which he charges me, and if I had not been engaged in that Work, I should have continued still much more ignorant than I am; without either remorse or shame. I confess that made me go further than otherwise I should ever have done, and much further than ever I shall do again: but he is not satisfied with my proficiency, and I must bear his displeasure. But, after all this, I must now say somewhat to your Lordship, and by the good leave of my *Most Learned Brother*, My Lord Bishop of Worcester, to him likewise, whom I take the liberty to call in here for my excuse, without asking his leave; he being now at such a distance. It was on you *both*, that I chiefly depended as to the Correction of my Work: and all the World knows how exact you *both* are in those matters. I remember well I desired you to look particularly into those Recapitulations, that went into the dark Ages: I thought I had good Authority for all I said, but I left it to you to judge whether I had or not: I am sure I never pretended to justify any thing after either of you found fault with it. I had all reason to believe that you had all possible zeal for having our Reformation so opened, that its History should appear with credit, and be liable to few exceptions: you both had also given me good reason to believe that you had some
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care of my part in it, so that I conclude that either this Critick is mistaken in some of his Remarks; or, that you did not think such a minuteness was necessary, when a short Abstract was only proposed. It seems by this Author, that your Lordship, whom I have often thought too *exact*, and by Consequence too *slow* in all that passes through your hands, has been in this too hasty, and too superficial: and perhaps you will receive this as a sort of Reprimand, which may oblige you hereafter to be yet more *exact* and more *slow* than you have hitherto been. But there is no need of all this Caution, since I hope all the World will impute the looseness and omissions which are blamed by the *Specimen*, and that were let pass by you, rather to your true Judgment, that led you to conclude that too full an exactness in such a part of History, is as vicious an Abundance, as the fullness of the account in what is to be related, is necessary and indispensable. Yet it is no small comfort to my self, and no little honour to the *Work*, that in so vast a variety of Recapitulations, as are made in both Volumes, he could find so little, and that too so inconsiderable, for an entertainment to his *Ill Humour*: but I must not build too much on this, till I see what the rest of his performances may produce, which I must again tell him, I expect from him; otherwise I shall not take him for a *man of his word*.

A second Head of Censures is the many *Dates* that he finds to be amiss, upon which he gives other *dates*, without descending so low as to tell from whence he had them: which is a way of writing that no man ought to assume, when he is censuring another, especially when he appears under a disguised name. As for the *dates* he questions, I confess I cannot tell what to say to them, unless I should enter a new upon that whole matter: Many of them I had from your Lordship, and I am sure yours are right, if the Authors from whom you took them, are not in the wrong. Others I took out of the several Offices, from which I gathered my Materials: I might have writ them *wrong*, or Collationed them too negligently; or perhaps he is in the *wrong* when he pretends to set me right. He says he has made his Observations upon the Second Edition, which in the Title page is said to be *Corrected*: Yet he who will teach us all exactness, should have held to the *first*, for it was that only that I took care of, and left all Editions since to the Booksellers care: So I am only answerable for the first. Probably the *Errata* I drew out in the first, were *Corrected* in the Second Edition, and upon that account it might be said to be *Corrected*: but more new ones might have crept into it, especially in *Figures*.

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Pag. 3.

When any thing of moment seems to depend upon a Date, it is in that case necessary to use great Caution for fixing it right: but in the Course of a History, where ordinary Transactions occur, about which there has been no Controversie, one may safely take Dates from the common Writers. If then I have often followed either *Fox* or *Goodwin*, I do not think my self lyable to a just Censure, tho' the Date should be found to be wrong. But there is one thing, that does very much offend this Author, that I have questioned the Exactness of the Clerks in the enrolling of Dates: for he thinks that the Honour of the whole Nation is much concerned in the Truth of Records. I confess, I thought the Honour of Nations was not struck at as oft, as the Diligence of any Clerk was questioned. We know that notwithstanding the Religious Care of the Copiers of Bibles, many of whom have been Monks, and so they are more particularly under this Author's Protection; yet the different Readings make a competent Volume; and tho' the Dates of the Roman Laws have been, and that justly too, esteemed one of the surest Helps of Chronology; yet the Learned *Gothofred*, and *Baluze* have undertaken to prove that very many of them are wrong, even in the correctest Copies. When these Matters were fresher with me, than they are now, I could have given him many Proofs of that Assertion, which yet is no *Asseveration*,

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as he is pleased to call it: nor do I assert any thing of the *Record* there in question, but say only in general, that the Enrolments are not always exact as to Dates; and he must love Contradiction for Contradiction's sake, that will quarrel with this. If one dictates to another, it is easy to mistake *thirty* for *thirteen*, or to write *eighteen* for *twenty eight*, or *thirteen* for *twenty three*; or sometimes to omit the Decimal Figure. After all, no designed Mistake appears to be among all these that he reckons up: so there is neither *Fraud* in all this, nor *Falsity*, a word that some of his Friends think it would have become him to use more sparingly. P. 28, 121, 153. P. 127.

But to conclude this Head, I promise you, that as soon as he has gone through with his whole Undertaking, and that he gives me reason to believe that his Correction of Dates is well-grounded, I will take care that none of them shall be forgotten, but will correct all by them, if my History comes to be printed again; for I desire nothing so much as to find out the Truth, even in the smallest and the least important Matters: And I shall not decline to own my Mistakes, whensoever a full Conviction is offered me, though it be accompanied with all the Rudeness, of which this *Specimen* has given so many blunt, but designed Stroaks.

The third Head to which these Censures do belong, is the *Conjectures* that I was put to make in some places, where my Materials were defective: Upon *some* of these he falls, and thinks that he has evinced that they are groundless. If he had overthrown what I had affirmed as certain, there had been some cause of Triumph: But I cannot imagine what harm it can do, either to a Man or to his Work, that when he is put to *guess*, it is found that he *guessed* wrong in some few Particulars: Yet after all, if I had a mind to value my self upon my *Conjectures*, it is plain, that many of those I made in the first Volume, are justified in the Second; and many of the *Defects* that he supplies by the Papers which he has found, and that I never saw, justify others of my *Conjectures*: So that if it appears from his *Specimen*, that I guessed sometimes *wrong*, it is no less evident that I was much oftner *right* in my *Conjectures*. Nor is it a fair way, when one studies to expose another, for guessing wrong, only to attack the Conjecture it self, without examining the Grounds on which it was made: for if the Grounds were but specious and plausible, they may serve to justify the Conjecture, even where there appears better reason to lay it aside. He is offended, because Judgments that I gathered in the first Part, happen to be contradicted by what is related in the Second. Now a more candid Censurer would rather have made an Inference from that in favour of my Sincerity; and have gathered from it, that I was not biassed by any

any partiality to my own *prejudging*, but that I tell Truth, even though it happens to disparage or detract from what I had formerly writ. In fine, he thinks I say many things as Embellishments to my History, that are not well-grounded. These are indeed small Matters, and they prove to be yet much smaller, when they are doubtfully proposed: and whatever the strict importance of the words *no doubt* may be, which has drawn such an angry Remark from him, yet in common use, it signifies no more than a *Conjecture*, of which one believes himself pretty well assured. P. 140. 141.

But one Prejudice still remains against all Conjectures in History, since it ought to be a severe recital of Matters of Fact, without the intermixture of *Conjectures* and Inferences: Which not being certain, as they ought not to be received, so they ought not to be proposed neither, since they prepossess and often mislead the Reader. It were enough, in answer to this, to cite the Authority of the most esteemed Writers of *History* that have frequently practised it; in particular of *Padre Paulo*, whose *History* of the *Council of Trent* I acknowledg I made my Pattern: And that I might copy after it with some Resemblance and Success, I read it over five or six times before I set about that Work. If a Man is to write *Memoirs*, he must keep close to his Vouchers; but when he writes a *History*, on a Subject of much Consequence, and that was transacted long before his own Time, and that it is

visible that many of the most valuable Papers relating to it, are lost, but that enough remains to give him a right view of the whole, and a Thread to guide him in it, he may certainly find many Hints of Things, which since he cannot lay before his Reader as *Historical Facts*, he may and ought to suggest them as Probabilities. And he who forms a true Character of a Man, from some of his secretest Papers, can frame Judgments, and see Likelyhoods that could never come in the way of one who only reads his Work; but does not dwell so long upon it, nor turn it so much in his Thoughts as he himself has done: And yet the offering of these may be necessary, since they may be of use to let his Reader see further than he would do without them. For instance, he is angry for my taking notice of *Bonner's* writing to his Friends for *Puddings and Pears*. I must desire you to observe his Ingenuity in this, since my Reflection did not fall upon these words of *Bonner*, but on his adding, that if his Friends did not furnish him with them, he would give them to *the Devil, to the Devil, and to all the Devils*. Now this from a *Bishop in Affliction*, writing to his private Friends, shewed a strange kind of *Brutish levity*; and the observing of that was not below the *Majesty of History*, since *Bonner* acted so great a Part, during the whole time that I write upon; so that such a Stroke as *this*, in my poor Opinion, ought not to have been suppressed.

Pag. 87.

I come now to the fourth and last Head of the *Specimen* which relates to those additional Discoveries that he has made. He calls them the *Defects* of my History ; how justly I leave to you, who are a true Critick in the use of Words. According to my sense, a *Defect* is a *vitious want* of that with which one might have supplied himself, if he had not been too careless. I cannot see what I could have done more than I did, to be well Informed. I put Advertisements in *Gazettes*, desiring the assistance of all that could furnish me with Materials. I let two Years and a half pass between the publishing my first, and second Volume: I did in the first desire the assistance of all the Learned and Curious Men of the Nation: I went through all the Offices and Records that were about *London* or *Westminster*: I went to *Cambridge*, when I understood that Arch-Bishop Parker's Manuscripts were there. I was upon going to *Oxford*, had not Bishop Fell let me know that he was informed, they had nothing worth my Journey, that was not already printed. I met with great Assistances from many Learned Men, all which I gratefully and publicly acknowledged, and made the best use of them that I could. I do not see what more I could do.

Your Lordship and several others of my worthy Friends, set all Persons that you thought capable of assisting me, on work for Materials. That *Great* and *good* Man who was then Lord
Chan-

Chancellour, the late Earl of *Nottingham*, did on many Occasions recommend the procuring Materials for me in the most effectual manner. Their Majesties most deserving *Attorney General* that now is, was pleased without my presuming to give him the trouble, to visit and examine some Offices for me in the Countrey. If our Author has been an Inquisitive Man of so long a standing, (he pretends to be longer, for he tells us of what he observed 20 Years ago) he could not but hear of all this, so there was occasion offered, and Time given for him to have contributed out of his store. If I had refused any help that had been offered me, or had not look'd out and got together all that could be had; If I had either called for no Assistance, presuming on my own Industry; or if I had made so much haste, that I had prevented even the diligence of Learned Men, here had been great occasion for *Censure*. But he has got a *Council-Book* of the last four Years of King *Edward* the sixth's Reign, and this must be brought out with great Pomp to reproach the *Defects* of my Work. I had the Book of the first two Years of that Reign. But though it was freely given me, I thought it did of right belong to the Crown, and delivered it in to be kept among the Council-Books: if this Author does the same with his, then his Quotations out of it may be examined. They make indeed the Valuablest part of his Book. But neither these, nor any thing else he says, can be of any value, till he gives himself his true Name, that so one may know how to look into, or examine those things that

that he pretends to have in his Hands.

I have now gone as far as I can in so general a way; when your Lordship or any other Person whose Judgment is of weight with me, advises me to descend into further Specialties, I shall not decline it. Yet if I had any Inclination to it, I think still it is best to make one Work for all, and to stay till he brings forth that which he has in *Reserve*; for I will still hold him to it: he must either give the World a great deal more, or he must expect to be thought to have insinuated that which he cannot perform. Only when he writes next, I wish he may do it with a better Spirit, and in a decenter Stile. He who knows so much, cannot judg so ill, as not to see that the attacking a Man's Reputation, but especially a *Bishop's*, in so great a Point, as is that of his *Truth* and *Fidelity*, upon which the Success of all his Labours, and the Credit of his whole Life and Ministry does depend, is not a slight thing, and is not to be attempted, unless one is very well assured, that what he objects, is not only just in it self, but that it is incumbent on him to do it. The Fame of a Man is a most valuable thing; and the Rules of *Charity*, and against *Detraction* and *Slander*, are delivered in such weighty Strains in the New Testament, that it is no small matter to make so bold with them.

The

The Years I have spent in the Service of the Church, the Labours I have undergone, and the Station I am in, deserve at least a modest and decent treatment: and my Diligence in that *History*, the Designs I pursue through it all, and that Sincerity and Candor that even Enemies do acknowledg, appears in its Contexture; the great Additions I had made to what was formerly known, and the general Acceptance with which it has been entertained, both at Home and Abroad, ought to have made a Man to have thought well of what he did, before he had attack'd it at all: but if he was so full of his Matter, that he was not to be restrained, at least he ought to have writ it in another manner, with another Air, and in a Strain of Civility (I had almost said *Respect*) futable to the Subject, and such as my way of Writing had deserved.

If this Author is so made, that nothing of all this touches him; I am sorry for it, I will not treat him more roughly; but must despair of working on him so as to do him good: I should think it a very particular Happiness, to be able to turn such a Man to a better Mind, from that Sourness which prevails over him at present. He seems capable of better and greater things; but till his Capacity and his Industry are sanctified to him, at another rate than this *Specimen* shews, he is a much worse Man for them, and will have a much greater Account to make at the last Day.

to the Bp. of Cov. and Litchfield. 29

I ask your Pardon for having given you so long
a Trouble. I am, with all possible Esteem and
Respect,

My LORD,

Windsor,

Feb. 23.

1691.

Your Lordship's most Affectionate

Brother, and most

humble Servant,

Gi. Sarum.

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Dr.